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No 1853, 10 Log
A

VINDICATION

OF HIS PUBLIC CHARACTER

IN THE STATION OF

DIRECTOR-GENERAL

OF THE

MILITARY HOSPITALS,

AND

PHYSICIAN IN CHIEF

TO THE

AMERICAN ARMY;

ANNO 1776.

BY JOHN MORGAN, M. D. F. R. S.

PROFESSOR of the Theory and Practice of PHYSICK
in the College of PHILADELPHIA; Member of several
Royal Colleges and Academies, and Philosophical and Li-
terary Societies, in EUROPE and AMERICA.

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M,DCC,LXXVII.



THE MAN, in conscious Virtue bold,
Who dare his secret Purpose hold,
Unshaken, hears the Crowds tumultuous Cries,
And the impetuous Tyrants angry Brow defies.

FRANCIS'S HORACE.



TO THE HONORABLE

The CONGRESS of the United States
OF AMERICA,

And to every FRIEND and WELL-WISHER

To the RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of MANKIND

THE FOLLOWING

VINDICATION

OF HIS PUBLIC CHARACTER,

In the Station of DIRECTOR-GENERAL

OF THE MILITARY HOSPITALS,

And PHYSICIAN in CHIEF

TO THE AMERICAN ARMY,

IS,

With all deference to Rank and Authority,

AND WITH ALL BECOMING FREEDOM,

CHEARFULLY SUBMITTED

BY

THEIR MOST RESPECTFUL

AND MOST OBEIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN MORGAN.

PROLEGOMENON.

THAT a mean and *invidious* set of men have looked upon my appointment to the station of DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND PHYSICIAN IN CHIEF, with an *evil eye*, and long been concerting *my removal*, is a matter of which I have too substantial proof to doubt : That the unwearied pains I have taken to support œconomy, regularity and order, so far as they have been introduced into the department, before it came under my management ; to introduce, recommend and inforce them, where wanting ; and to oppose and reform abuses that were creeping, or had already crept into it, from the infancy of the service, were the root of the enmity, which sprung up against my proceedings, are no less certain. It is equally evident that it received its growth and vigour from my inflexible resolution of being faithful to my trust, in not suffering, so far as it was in my power to prevent, the dissipation of the stores entrusted to me, for the uses of the sick that should be sent to the General Hospital under my care, by exposing them to the waste and depredation of men, whose schemes tended to the subversion of the General Hospital, in which they laboured to raise themselves into an importance, which neither the General nor Congress ever intended, and from my putting a stop to those abuses, of which too many of them have been guilty. That these are the stock from whence have shooted those clamours against me, which have been so carefully cultivated, with a design to injure my character with the public, under a pretence of interesting them in the sufferings of the sick, to which the imprudences of others had given rise ; and to shift the blame from them on me ; I doubt not will appear to the full conviction of every impartial person, who has patience to attend to the following Letters, Narrative, Proofs and Illustration of facts, which I propose to lay before them.

But that my enemies should be able, with all the arts of malice, to have influenced Congress to proceed to my dismissal, on their partial reports, is what I had no thoughts they would have been so bold, or so base, as to attempt ; nor if they had, could I have imagined that they would have succeeded in their attempt.

The manner in which I have conducted myself in the General Hospital department ; my strict observance of the resolves of Congress ; my vigilance, care and activity in the duties of my station ; the several plans I devised for putting it in the power of Congress, (consistently with their own original schemes of œconomy) to make a better provision for regimental Surgeons and sick, as well as for the General Hospital itself ; the advices I have communicated, from time to time, to several of the members, concerning the state and wants of the sick, and of the regimental Surgeons ; the evils I have foretold were likely to ensue, and the remedies I pointed out, in time to prevent many of them ; and lastly, the toils and dangers to which I have continually exposed myself, in discharge of my trust, I concluded would always be

a sufficient shield to protect me from every assault, till I could have notice of the designs and movements of my enemies, been prepared for my defence, and have had time to have repelled them. Those instances of zeal, diligence and uprightness of conduct, I hoped, were such, as neither malice would scandalize, nor envy misintrepret.

Will it be believed in a future day, that so grave and illustrious a set of men, as compose the American Congress, should, on any partial representation, without giving the person accused an opportunity of exculpating himself from the charges brought against him, or knowing what he was accused of; and without calling on him to offer what he had to say, why he should not be so dealt with; making themselves judges as well as hearers, pass sentence, as if all that is said, is proved? Will it be believed, that on no better evidence than the clamours and misrepresentations of interested men, they would have dismissed, from an office of the greatest trust, One, whose established character and their good opinion had called from private life, and appointed to that station; One, who, nevertheless, from his first stepping forth on the stage of action, had always met with public approbation and distinguished honours, both at home and abroad; who had served his country in posts of eminent trust and usefulness, with applause; that they would, on the first application, have sacrificed him to the cries of a faction? Would such a proceeding be thought consistent with equity, or been compatible with the reputation of a less important Assembly? Would it be thought an act of common justice in any inferior court, to proceed to punishment, on a charge, which might be groundless, and that, for ought they knew, might have been refuted, as soon as mentioned? Are the members of Congress well assured, that on *a mere pretence* of something being done that ought not to have been done, or of something being omitted that ought to be done, they have not made a victim of an innocent, or even meritorious servant, to promote the ambition of a INDIVIDUAL, or cover the faults of MANY, as if that offering would make atonement for their oversights or misconduct? Is the dismissal from an office of such consequence, a matter of so little moment, as to stand in no need of even the formality of an inquiry? Can such a step reflect honour on the most dignified Body of Men in America? Is nothing further necessary to find a person guilty, than to accuse him of being so? Could that Assembly be certain, that they were not, by this proceeding, invalidating their own resolves, weakening the obedience due to their commands, and shaking the very foundations of their own authority?

To degrade an officer from his rank, however lightly it may be thought of by vulgar minds, is an act of the highest rigour, as it opens the mouth of obloquy, and points the tongue of slander with deadly venom.

What reparation can be made for such a hasty misjudging, if it is found on examination to be so? Can any future inquiry into the me-

rits of the cause wholly extinguish its fatal influence? Is there a tribunal in the world that has past sentence, without a trial, that one may pronounce a proper tribunal, to which an innocent man may safely appeal? The higher the tribunal, the more fatal is the influence of prejudices. Has not the part the Congress has taken, in my dismissal, a direct tendency to weaken and corrupt the proper evidences? Can witnesses that might be called in be so impartial, as to give a full and faithful testimony in favour of the accused person? Will they readily produce such proofs in his favour as they could do, that might tend to applaud his conduct, whom Congress, by a resolve, has thought fit to censure; especially when those witnesses have their reliance on that Body, for present rank and future promotions? Is there a more effectual bribe to stop the mouths of evidences in favour of an innocent man, and to raise up enemies against him? How unhappy then must be the situation of any one, which lays him under so great an inconvenience, that those who have it in their power to justify his conduct, may be intimidated from doing it, fully and freely, as they wish to do, for fear of giving offence to those on whom they are dependants; so that it is easier for those who incline to it, to do an innocent person a mischief, than to find many men so just, as to produce all they know in his behalf, and by vindicating him, incur the disfavour of those in power?

Under those circumstances a man's defence must be liable to misconstructions; whereas, had an inquiry been allowed, before dismissal, full weight would have been given to the evidences on both sides; but by this summary and unusual proceedings, is not the door shut against impartial justice; and should the person be called to trial, before the Bench that condemned him, are not his Judges become a party against him? In whose favour they are likely to pass judgment, on reference, let the feelings of mankind determine.

Notwithstanding I was fully sensible of the force of these reasonings, yet so conscious was I of my innocence, and such was my opinion of the incorruptibility of the Congress, that rather than lay under an imputation that affected my character, dearer to an honest man than life itself, on the first notice of my removal from office, I immediately appealed to the Commander in Chief and through him to Congress, in hopes they would reconsider what had been so hastily done against me. Three months are elapsed since that appeal, nor have they thought fit to give me any answer.

To what other cause can I impute it, but to their own reflexions; that there is not a set of men on earth, so free from the influence of their own passions, that a person may trust himself to their decisions, unheard, and to whom it is proper to appeal from their own decisions, thus made? For who are so free from bias, as not to have a secret wish to find, that, in passing judgment, they must appear to have been just. Can it be their desire to find that man blameless to whom they have behaved, as if they thought him otherwise? Would it not be a reflexion upon their hasty judgment, when they have treated him, as guilty, to find him wholly innocent.

But

But I will not do that Honourable Body the injustice to entertain a suspicion so derogatory as to consider my dismissal, and the manner of it, as a regular, deliberate act of the Whole Body, or what they approved. I have heard it alledged, in their defence, against so injurious a supposition, that many of the most respectable Members were absent; that some of the States were not represented at the time; and that several of the Members were wholly opposed to it; that it was an act into which they were suddenly forced, by the clamours of a party, whom political necessity, at the time, compelled them to gratify.

But such is my opinion of the integrity, and such my reliance on the honour of Congress, as to believe that when they are furnished with the materials for judging properly, they will be as ready to do me justice, as a part of them have been to listen to the malice and misrepresentation of my adversaries; and to shew their magnanimity, by allowing that they have been capable of an error, by their readiness to redress it. These considerations have reduced me to print such an account of my proceedings, as may enable them, and the public, to see with clearness, and judge with conviction, on the propriety or impropriety of my conduct; and to put it in their power to condemn, or acquit me, on sufficient evidence.

To suppose, as some have been inclined to think, that Congress can object to this appeal, from their judgment to that of the public, would be a greater reflection, in my opinion, upon their justice, and do more injury to that veneration we are bound to pay their virtue and wisdom, than I think any Advocate of Liberty will dare to offer so respectable a Senate. Would it not be incompatible with every idea of that liberty and justice for which America is now in arms, to disallow an honest freedom of defence and expostulation, or to shut up the channels of communicating intelligence, by which the public may be truly informed of the propriety of their proceedings, if they mean to maintain the confidence of those who have surrendered to them their power and rights, not for their own, but the public good? Without this is allowed, all our privileges are but an empty boast, "*the baseless fabrick of a vision*," to which we are sacrificing the most substantial realities.

Out of respect to Congress, I have thus long deferred my application to the public. I can no longer, consistently with my reputation, defer it. The wounds that are given by the envenomed tongue of calumny are deeper, and more fatal than the sword; they destroy, what is dearer than life, reputation and peace of mind. Blemishes on a man's public character soon fester, and, if not speedily removed, will contaminate every thing about him, and infect the very air he breathes. He whose reputation is injured, is ever suspected; his society is shunned; he is looked upon as dangerous as a walking pestilence. I must not therefore pass over, in silence, a proceeding which strikes so home at my honour. It would afford room for ingenious architects to raise a pile of plausible charges, which silence is no ways calculated to refute. Evil reports are apt to spread like wild fire, and even persons not
easily

easily inclined to it, by repeating and circulating a story, snow it from hand to hand, whence it cannot fail to accumulate; and where slanders have been suffered to take root, there are never wanting some persons, who will use all kinds of manure to quicken the growth. And though my Friends are disposed to look upon me as an innocent and injured person, yet I do not desire that they, or the world, should set down satisfied with a bare presumption of my innocence, as my enemies have with that of my guilt. I rather wish them to unite, in calling on me, to persist in dragging from their dark retreats, and chaining down those barking CERBERI, those pests of society, who lay in wait to prey on the reputation of others; and to proceed in laying open my conduct, and their evil machinations, so long as any doubt remains of either, and the means of obtaining and communicating evidence on the facts are within my power.

Before I enter upon the task, may I be permitted, without offence, to guard against a mistake that some may, perhaps, otherwise fall into. They may suppose, from the pains I am taking to vindicate myself from groundless imputations, that I wish, or aim to be restored to the place from which I have been removed; and that I ought rather, on the first appearance of the injustice done me, to have resigned my commission, by which I might have freed myself from much trouble, and have avoided the public discredit of being removed from it. After I have given such evidence, as I have done, of the readiness with which I consented to serve my country, at the first call, as a proof of my principles, and of my obedience to their commands, I flatter myself I may, without offence, be allowed to acquaint the world, that, on the very first intimation I ever received of the complaints made to Congress, I called for an immediate hearing. The honorable Member who informed me of them, gave me a hint of resignation being the most adviseable step to be taken, in the like circumstances, to quiet those clamours. Could I have first vindicated my innocence, I should have resigned with pleasure, for I had not the remotest wish to continue in an office that was so intolerably burdensome, when there was such want of discipline to enforce those regulations, which both the Congress and Commander in Chief thought were best; nor did I think a service that, for want of discipline and suitable provision, was in a state of the utmost anarchy and confusion, so very honorable, as to have a desire to remain in it, one moment longer than, by so doing, I could be useful to my Country.---But had I resigned, before I had been favoured with an examination into my conduct, it might rather have prepossessed the world with an opinion, that there was some ground for those clamours against me, of which I was no ways conscious. I determined, therefore, to insist on an inquiry into my conduct, and having fully vindicated it, to have closed with the proposal to resign, had it been allowed me to do so.

I should then have rejoiced to have escaped from that scene of confusion to which I have been so long a witness, and in which I
could

could not be useful, to my former station, in private life. On this ground, I consider my dismissal, not only as more honourable than a resignation, without a previous justification of my conduct, but than a continuance in office, under the circumstances I have been in, almost ever since I accepted that commission. But I particularly rejoice in it, as it affords me an opportunity of vindicating my conduct, not only to the Whole Congress, but to the Whole World, and having done it, I leave the event to that God who rules the world, and in whose hands are all our ways.

Every thing I deem necessary, at present, for my full justification, is contained in the following letter to a friend at Philadelphia, my memorial to General Washington, and the letters and resolves of Congress, with the proofs and illustrations that are subjoined in the appendix. I shall make no other apology for laying them before the public in that form and order, than that I think them the best adapted to give both Congress, and the public, full information of the nature of my conduct; and if, in the course of my narrative, the facts I adduce, and the remarks which arise upon them, should seem to glance obliquely on any particulars, I hope I may be allowed to plead, that the treatment I have met with, and the nature of my vindication, requires freedom; and, that I shall be excused in the eye of reason, and with every candid mind, if I do not smother the truth, and thereby weaken my defence, merely to avoid giving pain to any.

A LETTER to a friend at Philadelphia.

Boston, April 17, 1777.

“ Pudet hæc opprobria nobis,

“ Aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.”

DEAR SIR,

I Am obliged to you, for the accounts I have received of those loud clamours, which have been circulating through Philadelphia, at my expence. I have inclosed, and already sent to the post-office, the news-papers of last week, and of this day, containing my answer to those injurious charges, so groundlessly, and yet so maliciously propagated, by certain virulent calumniators, which, I flatter myself, will open a door for a full and ample vindication of the whole of my conduct; a conduct which I shall never suffer to be traduced, in so vile a manner, as hath been attempted, by a set of weak, or designing men, whilst I have a tongue to speak, or a pen and hand to employ, to clear myself from those aspersions.*

B

It

* The news-papers, here referred to, are the *Independent Chronicle*, of April 10th and 17th, and the *Boston Weekly Advertiser*, of the 17th; from which it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that in that of April

It is in vain for any of my friends to expect, that I will set ~~me~~ under the base imputations, or rest satisfied in that general persuasion they all have of my innocence, or acquiesce in any thing short of a full

the 10th, being informed of some evil minded persons, who had taken upon them to raise and circulate a number of false reports and groundless clamours, at Boston, on account of my having taken possession of the medicines and shop-furniture of Dr. Sylvester Gardner, and Dr. William Perkins, of Boston, for the use of the army; and to alledge that many of the sufferings of the sick, in the last campaign, arose from my having unjustly withheld from them (or from the REGIMENTAL SURGEONS) those stores which they were entitled to draw from the General Hospital; I came to Boston on purpose to call upon the persons pointed out, as the principal authors of those reports, requiring them to make good that charge, and at the same time inviting any persons, who had any thing to offer against me, that regarded the faithful discharge of my trust, to step forth, and state their accusations. I then promised to lay before the public, a faithful and exact account of every proceeding, relative to the discharge of my duty in the above station, by which the world would be enabled to judge whether the charges were well founded, or only proceeded from a spirit of malignity and detraction.

In the papers of the 17th, I communicated the result of that examination, with a letter, calling upon the author of the report, concerning the removal of the medicines, to know what he had to offer; to which he returned a short evasive answer, disclaiming the charge, which is there published, together with a full account of the transaction.

In that paper the public were informed, that in respect to the removal of the drugs, medicines and shop-furniture in question, I had the order of General Washington, in writing, for what I did, backed with a resolve of the Council and Assembly of the State of Massachusetts-Bay, after a sequestration of the property of those persons;---that they were removed to New-York, for the use of the army;---that whatever was done by me, in this affair, was merely official;---that an inventory of the whole was left with the Boston Committee, that, in case the former owners should return to town, and be entitled to claim a restitution of their effects, the value might be duly ascertained;---that a particular and faithful account of every thing done in this business, was transmitted to the Adjutant General, to be laid before the Commander in Chief, for which I received thanks for the matter and manner of what I had done;---and that an inventory of every hospital store, remaining on hand, being made out by the Apothecary of the General Hospital, with care and exactness, was transmitted to General Washington and the Congress, of which I kept an authentic copy; concluding this head with an address to those persons, to take shame and confusion of face to themselves, who judging only from the corruption of their own hearts, appear to think it impossible for men, to whom much is entrusted, to keep free from that pollution of hands, which they find in themselves such a proneness to contract.

In regard to the second charge, which relates to the with-holding the

a full and impartial discussion of every particular, relative to my proceedings, in my late station.

You

hospital stores; this being reported against me, by Dr. Story, Surgeon of Col. Little's regiment, I wrote a letter to him, April 8th, calling on him to explain himself for taking such unwarrantable licence as he had done, assuring him that no man, be his rank in life what it may, should be suffered to do it, with impunity; Dr. Story declining to take any notice of it, that letter was published in the Independent Chronicle, of the 17th of April, with the following Declaration of Col. Joseph Trumbull, Esq; Commissary General of the American army.

To all whom it may concern.

BE it known, that---whereas I have been informed that it has been industriously propagated by some evil-minded persons, in divers parts of the country---That Dr. JOHN MORGAN, late Director-General of the Continental Hospital, has drawn from the Commissary-General's office, the well rations, for the sick, while in the General Hospital, and that he has pocketed the same for his own emolument; I have this day made examination of my books, clerks, &c.---and find that I have not a charge in my books, of A SINGLE PENNY paid to said Doctor MORGAN, or any other Hospital Surgeon under him, on account of rations for the sick; nor did I ever PAY any thing, on that account, to Doctor MORGAN, so that there cannot be the least foundation for such aspersions of his character.---I have paid LARGE SUMS for the rations of the sick, in Regimental and Brigade Hospitals, to many Brigade and Regimental Physicians and Surgeons, but never a farthing to said Doctor MORGAN, or any General Hospital Physician or Surgeon whatever.

Given under my Hand at Hartford, 2d of April, 1777.

JOSEPH TRUMBULL, Commissary-General.

N. B. The public are now informed, that Dr. Story having afterwards insinuated,---that, "when he was properly called upon, he did not doubt he should be able to support what he had at any time advanced," I called upon him in person, for an explanation, when he thought fit to deny, that, at the very time he affirmed the sufferings of the sick to have arisen from the cause assigned, of withholding from the Regimental Surgeons or sick, what he supposed them entitled to draw from the General Hospital; (to which, however, they had no claim) "he had any thought of Dr. Morgan's having any intention to defraud the Continent." Lastly, it is proper it should be known that the aforementioned invitation, if any man had any thing to alledge against the faithful discharge of his trust, to step forth and declare it, has been also printed in the Rhode-Island, Connecticut and Philadelphia papers, without any the least reply; from whence all men may judge how groundless, as well as malicious, those clamours were; and, no doubt, will, in behalf of injured innocence, feel a just indignation at the authors thereof.

You would comfort me with those true observations, that "it is not for men in public stations, in times like these, to expect to be free from censure, nor should they be discouraged at the obloquies, with which some men wish to stain their characters; they ought to content themselves with this remark, that men of worth, who are not only innocent, but whose conduct is meritorious, are most liable to be traduced by ignorant and designing men; that not to meet with *envy* and *back-biting*, is a frequent effect of compliances, which argue a *weakness* unworthy of confidence." You say, "my friends know I do not wish to be *popular* at such a price, but have rather courted the slanders of the *envious*, by a steady perseverance in my duty, than lay a train for the compliments of *flatterers*, by favouring their *dark* purposes."

You proceed in remarking, "That it is no unusual matter, in the want of success in any undertaking, for those who have been the authors of any public calamity, in order to shift the fault from themselves, to lay it at the door of others."

You say, you are convinced, that what I wrote to you of my suspicions, was true; "that this cry against me is owing to my steadiness to discharge the trust reposed in me, according to the best of my judgment, knowledge and abilities, and in not yielding to the repeated attempts of ignorant or bad men, to encroach upon my department, who wished that I would issue all expensive stores to their orders, without their being accountable for them, contrary to my instructions, by which they would be exposed to rapine and dissipation, without a possibility of replacing them, and my character justly suffer for submitting to an unlicensed prodigality and breach of duty and orders." You observe, that mine "is not the only instance of a man's reputation being offered up a victim to the ignorance or ambition of others."

You tell me, you now see clearly, what I had often told you before, and have now experienced to my cost: "That it is no easy matter for a person, placed at the head of any department, that requires a strict and wary attention, not to be borne down by ignorant or designing men, or to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him, without which, however, he must unavoidably expose himself to a thousand rude attempts to dishonour his judgment, and oblige him to act inconsistent with it." You wish me to support myself under this reflexion, that "the best provision those men can make, for all events, who are above such compliances with the ways of the world, as may impeach their honour, or offer violence to their conscience; and to whom the judgment and approbation of the world is matter of but second consideration, is to have a firm confidence in Providence, that he will not suffer their innocence to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, and yet expect the gusts and storms of rumor, envy and detraction; to look on these as a *purgatory* he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon time, and the goodness of Heaven for a vindication; and by constantly performing all the duties of his place and station with justice and integrity, prove

to all men, how groundless those charges were, that men of secret designs have imputed to him."

To these judicious reflexions and observations, permit me to reply,---That to pass over, in silence, a proceeding, which strikes so home at a man's reputation, as that of his dismissal from a public station, and being superceded, without a cause assigned, will be considered, by most of mankind, as an argument of conscious guilt.---The complaints which have been made, ought surely to have been heard before a court of war, which was doubtless the proper method of proceeding for offences, supposed to be committed against the army, before which such an inquiry might be made, as would determine the validity of the accusation, and how far the person accused was worthy of condemnation, acquittal, or honourable acknowledgments for the services he had done, and particularly for his care to avoid all those methods and precedents, which men of less scruple would have laid hold of, for their own advantage, and thought even justifiable. Is it not hard to meet with such treatment as this, when a person's conduct has been highly meritorious, in the sacrifices he has made by entering into the service; the loss he has endured in it; the fatigues, toils and dangers to which he has been exposed; the throwing himself out of business, and making himself a marked character to serve his Country, in a post wherein his countrymen conceived he could be particularly useful, from his former experience and knowledge in military hospitals, when they could meet with none other, who had the same pretence to experience, that would accept of it; and who has suggested to them the proper plans for improving and putting it on a better footing than he found it? Must he, in silence, behold others run away with the merits of his performances, and build on his foundations, who could neither pretend to the same experience, nor done the same duty, nor run the same risks and hazards, and quietly put up with the misplaced censures of the public? Must he content himself with the repeated "*sic vos non vobis*" of the Mantuan Bard?

Where is the honour of a service, or what the safety of accepting a place of trust, if the most punctual compliance with the orders of his superiors, and, in many instances, contrary to his own judgment, is to lay the foundation of a man's ruin? If any subtle, malicious, or vindictive INSINUATIONS, on the one hand, or the AMBITION of aspiring men, on the other, shall, at any time, prevail against those, who have made a sacrifice of their private interests, to follow their Country's call, in their particular station; who value their integrity more than popularity, and cannot be brought to act in contradiction to their conscience or judgment, however powerful attempts are made to oblige them to do it; or if the character and reputation of one, who has served the public, in places of rank and trust, faithfully, irreproachably, with honour and applause, is to be immolated to the MISREPRESENTATIONS of others, or to the designs and wishes of a more SWELLING INTEREST, without any trial,

trial, or giving the party accused the least notice of what nature were the complaints laid to his charge, or who were his accusers, that he might be able to show to the world, how groundless the accusations were, and how far their clamours were founded on private pique, disappointed expectations, or secret resentment?

Does not this conduct tend to overthrow the foundation of civil Liberty, which can only be secured by impartial trials, before disinterested judges, where the accused person and the accusers are brought face to face, and where full weight is given to the evidence in favour of the accused? What line is there betwixt it and DESPOTISM? At this rate, who is free from the fatal effects of influence? Have not the States of America claimed that essential right, as one of the main pillars of their Liberties? Or have Americans, who contend against what they declare to be an illegal usurpation from abroad, on the natural rights of mankind, no laws to secure them from oppression at home? Has the British subject a defence against the injustice of a king, who should attempt to violate those rights, and an American none against that of his equals, when joined with power to injure him?

Is it a misfortune, easily to be borne, that any persons should lay under a charge, which it was the duty of those, who are the authors of it, to have made good? Is it not consistent with the principles of equity, that every *accused person* should be deemed *innocent*, or judgment be suspended till guilt is proved? Let all consider, what mischief may happen to themselves, if, upon a general charge, without the mention of any one crime, a person is to be degraded from his rank and office; for who is secure from the consequences of such a precedent? Or, if men of secret designs can thus shelter themselves, by sacrificing those, who, from a sense of duty, remain immovable against every effort to draw them aside from their duty, who is certain that he shall escape the danger?

TO INCAPACITATE, in this manner, is no such small punishment, that a man may easily endure, though he be innocent. "It is to SCOURGE; it is to WHIP with SCORPIONS; *it is a punishment calculated only for GENEROUS MINDS, thus to rob men of their HONOURS;*" it is to lay a stain upon them, which, though undeserved, a whole life is too short to efface the impression, without it be fully vindicated; and, to them, is worse than death. It reaches to innocent friends and relatives, who would rather hear of their death, than their disgrace. It is to destroy a man's peace of mind; it is to expose him to the tongue of slander, and the rude attempts of wicked men, who, by their behaviour, seem to think it a merit to load him with reproaches, as one without the shadow of a virtue,

"*Nulla virtute redemptum*

"*a vitiis.*"

But if I am proved guilty of misconduct in my office, let my guilt meet with its desert; but on me, on me alone, let the public indignation fall: Let not one friend ever pity me: Let every trace of sympathy

truth and compassion be obliterated from the tender breast of every relative; of every dear and tender connexion! On the other hand, if I am found innocent, I must insist upon my right, of publicly asserting and maintaining that innocence, although hosts of evil-minded men should oppose themselves to the attempt, and I trust in Heaven, that it will come forth, on the test, as gold tried in the furnace, without mixture of alloy.

Nor shall I rest, at ease, till my vindication is as well known, and circulated as far as the malice of my accusers has spread, and the disreputation fully wiped away, which the Congress has cast upon me, by so shameful a dismissal from office, on a mere accusation, without proof, and without an hearing, although repeatedly called for before that took place; and I apprehend it will be found, upon proper inquiry, that at the risk of my reputation, so grossly and shamefully insulted, and of popular favour, which I might easily have acquired however, at the *trifling expence of honour, and of the trust reposed in me by Congress*, whilst I was fighting in their cause, having escaped the secret ambushes of latent enemies, I was placed, Uriah-like, in the forefront of battle, amidst enemies set in formidable array against me; then deserted, and left to fall, unsupported, by those who placed me there; and whose duty it was to have protected me.

If one, who being only accountable, by his commission, to the Congress and Commander in Chief, and who was more particularly under their wing, could not be sheltered, *even by them*, from so furious an onset, such a violation of the common rights of mankind, till he could be brought to trial, and his guilt or innocence established on undeniable evidence, I ask, once more, who then is safe?

You have gone on, Sir, to tell me, "that on the first rumour of my dismissal, and the manner in which it first took place, you felt all that indignation that might be expected from friendship, on so interesting an occasion; but that you suffered but a few moments of reflection to take place, before you were convinced of the falsity of the charges, which you say, you are sure I can clear up to the entire satisfaction of an impartial world; as you proceed, you enter into the sensibilities of my own heart, on the first news of my being treated so unworthily."

As you discover a desire to know what reception these rumours met with from myself, I must inform you of certain circumstances that prepared me, in some sort, to think that ill offices had been done me, by unknown persons; which I was determined, if possible, to find out. I acknowledge that I felt resentment rising in my breast, on occasion thereof, the first emotions of which I could not suppress; I was resolved to restrain them, however, till I had set on foot an inquiry into the causes of such treatment, as I met with, and, if matters were not explained to my satisfaction, to resign my commission, and bid adieu to a service, in which an injury was offered to my sense of honour.

By the votes of Congress, October the 9th, it seems I was, in effect,

fect, degraded from the rank of Director General and Physician in Chief, to the rank of Director only, and restricted to the department on the East side of Hudson's-River;---whilst the Director of the flying camp, who had been appointed, after the campaign began, to the temporary service of that campaign, without waiting the issue of his services, was put on an equal, or, to say the truth, a preferable footing, contrary to the rules and discipline of war.* Instead of making his reports to me, as Director-General, (as had been formerly ordered by a Resolve of Congress, July 17) we were both to make our reports to Congress. I was ordered to establish an Hospital, at a proper distance from camp, for the army posted on the East side of the North-River, when there was no convenience for doing it on that side, at any suitable distance, being hemmed in by the two rivers, and the enemy's forces, on either side. He was to establish an Hospital in the Jerseys, on the West of Hudson's-River, and to direct it, where alone any suitable accommodations could be provided for the sick, with any the least regard to the convenience of the army, or the preservation of the sick. Here almost the whole of the Hospital stores and medicines were lodged, and near one half of the Hospital Surgeons and Mates of my department were; as well as all the wounded brought from Long-Island, and the sick of the General Hospital at New-York, who, as the object of my peculiar care, were conveyed to the Jerseys, for their greater safety and better accommodation.

At this very juncture, it was the General's pleasure that I should proceed to Hackinsack, on the West side of the river, to establish other hospitals for the encreasing sick. I applied to him, to know in what light I was to consider those resolves; and whether, consistently with them, I could continue to establish hospitals, or provide for the sick, that should be carried from the East to the West side of the river, so that they should remain under my own care and superintendence, or whether I was not, by those resolves, to be deprived of the only hospitals I had, that were fit for the accommodation of the sick

* *That I might not mistake, I wrote to Mr. Gerry, a Member of Congress, for an explanation of that resolve: His answer is as follows.*

Philadelphia, November 20, 1776.

"I have received your favour of the 7th instant. With respect to the meaning of the resolve of ordering the "DIRECTORS" to take care of the sick, as they may be on the East or West side of the river; it appears to me to be this, that whatever sick of the army shall happen to be on the East side, they shall be under the care of yourself; and the others under direction of Dr. SHIPPEN."

I am well informed, by a gentleman of unquestionable honour and veracity, and who had seen his letter to Dr. SHIPPEN, about the same time, that his address to him was to Dr. SHIPPEN, "Director General, &c." A word to the wise.

sick and wounded, and of the principal hospital stores which I had left, that I could command; they being, at the retreat from New-York, sent to Newark, the only place where they could be dispensed with safety and convenience, for the use of the troops on New-York island, and in its neighbourhood.

But General Washington, and General Green (who was also present) gave it as their opinion, that the resolves of Congress extended only to distinguish the two armies, for which separate hospitals were to be established; that I was directed to establish one for the sick and wounded of General Washington's army, that was posted on the East side of Hudson's-River; and that the other gentleman was to take care of the sick of the flying camp, and such other of the troops, as happened to be then on the East side of the North-River, which was only a temporary station. This view of matters, in some measure, composed my apprehensions at that time. I was unwilling to admit the supposition that Congress, which, I was bound to think, wished order and subordination to be kept up in every department of the army, intended that he should interfere with my power, and superior appointment of Director-General, though, for the sake of present convenience, he might be ordered to make his report directly to Congress. I therefore concluded, as well from the construction put upon it by the Generals, as from the reasonableness of the thing itself, that I was not prohibited from fixing hospitals, either on the East or West side of the river, as best answered for the army posted on the East side. I could not conceive that the lives of the men, that composed that army, were to be sacrificed, by a limitation of the place in which they were to be taken care of, or that a plan was laid for reducing me to a mere cypher, and to throw the whole power of the department into the hands of an inferior officer, as Doctor Shippen certainly was, however he might affect an equality.

Agreeable to this inference, I repaired to Hackinsack, by the General's order, to direct the necessary provision to be made, for the reception and accommodation of the sick, from York island, and directed a second division of the Hospital Surgeons, of my immediate department, to attend, and take the care of them.

Although I never was allowed to be absent from the army, and scarcely permitted to be at any distance, for the shortest time, from Head-Quarters; the great weight of providing for, and taking care of the sick of the whole army, rested on my shoulders alone; and yet my hands were so tied up by resolves of Congress, and general orders, as to leave little freedom for proper exertions. In particular, I had no Deputy or Assistant under me, to share any part of the burden of my department, however extensive. One Surgeon and five Mates were all that had been allowed me, from the beginning to
this

this time, for every five thousand men; when at least one thousand men, in every five, were sometimes considered as unfit for duty. And though I was called upon, as if I was a Commissary, to attend to the daily provision returns of all the sick in the army, spread thro' many miles, not only hospital, but regimental sick, and to provide them with accommodations, as a Barrack-Master, and with hospital furniture, as a Quarter-Master, and that, contrary to the resolves of Congress (so ignorant and unreasonable were the Regimental Surgeons, and even some of the Militia Generals, in requiring it) yet I had no other aid, than what could be afforded me by those gentlemen, who had only the rank and pay of Hospital Surgeons, but who were obliged to do the duty of Deputy Directors, for which I wished them to be clothed with more power, than they were intitled to, when acting under the simple commission of Surgeons.

Perhaps artful men may here alledge, that I ought, therefore, to have submitted to the difficulty, and discharged my care of the sick, of the army, on the western Director. I would ask them for what purpose, whether to bury him with the load, when he could no more take care of the sick of the flying camp only, than I could of the whole army, unless by depriving me of my own officers and stores; or was it, to reduce me to a cypher, in order to raise him into importance? Had the Congress supposed that I had too much, and he too little to do, I would cheerfully have transferred to him the superintendence, and management of as many, as his heart desired, only reserving my rank, and the command of my own officers, hospitals and stores. But I have good grounds to believe, that his underhand attempts to interfere with me, in my department, and his interest with a particular set, which has been employed to effect my removal, with a view to promote his design of succeeding me, have operated more powerfully to accomplish it, than all others, that have been held up, as the ostensible causes of my removal; which, however he may think, from being transacted behind a curtain, they lye concealed, can be easily traced to their author, and are of a tissue with the rest of his conduct towards me, on similar occasions.

But whilst I was left destitute of help, what assistance was allowed, in the mean while, to the Director of the flying camp? I was well assured, from his own lips, that he had not long acted in that station, before he was complimented with the appointment of a deputy, having the rank, title and pay of Assistant-Director, or, as he told me, however strange and inconsistent it may appear, of Assistant-Director-General. Thus it fares with the man, I will not say as Hamon did, whom the king delights to honour; but whom governing connexions chuse to make considerable, at the expense of others.

However this was effected, whether by his own forecast, or that of his

friends, will any man pretend to say that this appointment, and the manner of wording the resolves of Congress, October 9th., did not serve the purposes of nest eggs, on which to brood and hatch designs, not thought of by Congress, as a body? What will indifferent men think of these resolves, so contrary to my commission of Director-General, October 17th, 1775, and the report of Congress, August 20th, 1776, to establish my rank beyond dispute? See the Resolves of Congress.

Whilst such an auxiliary appointment is made to give weight and importance to a temporary Director of a flying camp; and resolves procured afterwards, to raise him to greater importance, and to bring me down to a level; and when subsequent measures are taken, to dispossess me of the powers of action, to tie up my hands, and yet to make me accountable for misfortunes, beyond human reach to prevent, and for the misconduct of others; to transfer my stores, my hospitals, my surgeons and officers, to another; and yet blame me for the consequences; Who is so blind as to see no designs in all this? or so wishful, as to ascribe the whole to mere accident? Is it not manifest, that the Director, and his attachments, have, from his first coming into the service, pursued such measures, as they conceived were best calculated to raise him over the shoulders of every man, who stood in his way, and to constitute him Head of the department. How truly Machiavelian has been his conduct, and those who have assisted him, *per fas atque nefas*, to accomplish his ends, whether right or wrong, to make all things subservient to them; "to couzen and deceive, so long as it answered any purpose, and might contribute to what he desired upon motives, how foreign soever; and when that failed, further to serve his purposes, to compel submission, by force, to what persons are not able to oppose? How consistent is such conduct with such principles? Where men have entertained designs, that are void of all conscience, they must not think to prosecute them, by the rules of conscience, which was laid aside, or subdued, before they entered upon them; and must make no scruple of doing all those things, which are necessary to compass that, to which they have devoted themselves."* I am persuaded, that both he, and his adherents, have not only watched for, but made occasions, to serve as a plausible pretext for displacing me, to accomplish their own wishes. I am not more assuredly convinced of my own existence, than I am fully persuaded, that had any other person been Director of the flying camp, and were it not for that object, no clamours of the sufferings of the sick, which were trumpeted through every State, nor any other charge of mismanagement, would have been laid at my door; or that I should have had an opportunity given me of being heard in my defence, and that my conduct would have been

* *Machiavel's political principles.*

fully vindicated, and my reputation for diligence and fidelity, in the discharge of my trust, have been established, beyond the reach of calumny.

That I may not seem to advance this without a reason, I shall not place the whole stress of the argument upon the single circumstance of no particular charge being ever made known to me, by Congress, although I repeatedly applied to know what was the accusation, and who were my accusers, and no other person was ever called upon, in the department, none accused, or sought after, as if I was answerable, not only for every supposed crime that could be alledged against any part of it, but for mere misfortunes; on which I have been proceeded against, and treated in a manner, that, I believe, has no precedent: I shall produce such circumstances, as, I trust, will convince impartial men, that the ostensible causes of my dismissal, were not the true ones; and that Congress had, in fact, no well grounded charge, to justify the measure, which some persons were so resolutely bent upon, as to be afraid, if I were admitted to an hearing, their designs of effecting my removal would have been frustrated. I think the one I have already pointed out will be found, on an impartial inquiry, to be the *conditio sine qua non*; or rather, the efficient cause of that event; I mean, that I stood in the way of an ambitious man, whom his adherents determined, be the consequences what they might, to raise to the first rank in the department, and either oblige me to bend, as a reed, before him, or, like a stubborn oak, to be torn up by the roots, for resisting the tempest; and to plant him on my ruin.

I had intimations given me, more than once, that pains would be taken, to deprive me of my rank and distinction, to make room for a rising competitor. I did not readily believe, yet did not wholly discredit the intelligence. I wrote to some members of Congress, whom I looked upon as my friends, to guard against any step, which, through seeming inattention to military rules, might make it impracticable, consistent with those rules, as a man of spirit, to remain in the service. I told them, I did not seek for any extent of power, nor was I averse to any limitation of it, in my own case, compatible with that sense of honour, which is supposed necessary to actuate and quicken men in every army. I did not know, till I received a letter from the Secretary of Congress, to rectify that mistake, that rank, precedence and honour are all nonsense, and not looked for in our army; and truly, if we may judge from effects, they carry too much conviction, that a sense of honour is no virtue, in his estimation, whatever it may be in that of some men, of a more liberal way of thinking both in Congress and in the army. I took the liberty to write to the President of the Congress himself, "that I hoped there would be no unnecessary abridgement of rank and authority in my person,

person, whilst I continued in office, that were necessary for the head of the department, in the person of my predecessor, and were consistent with real usefulness, to which I expressed it to be my desire, that every other consideration should give way, as it would imply a reflexion upon me, which I was unwilling to suppose I merited."

I also wrote to the Secretary of Congress, on a double account; first, to know the extent of my power, and that of the several Directors, for the sake of conducting business in its proper channel; and next, to get that rank which was allowed me by Congress, properly recognized by the several Directors, to avoid mistakes. One of the Directors had not only disputed it with me, and refused to make his returns to me, as Director-General, as Congress required; but appealed to Congress for its decision, which was given in my favour.

Although my application to him was respectful, and as I informed him, only made with a view to know my station, and that of others, that I might perform the duties expected of me, without interference with any; instead of favouring me with any extract from the resolves of Congress, to which I referred for information, he saw fit to substitute his own dictates.

My rank and authority being securely fenced in, by repeated acts and resolves of Congress, there was no possibility for the Director of the flying camp, or his friends, to accomplish their secret purposes, without first breaking down the separating wall of distinction. By this means the person, who would not submit to be degraded from his rank, would be obliged to resign, and, to insure success, it was easy for artful persons to excite or encourage complaints, and to bring them before Congress, to afford a pretext for displacing him. But then it was of consequence, that he should be kept ignorant of those complaints, and of his accusers, and to prevent his obtaining an hearing, lest he should vindicate himself, and thereby disappoint their hopes. Nothing could answer their purposes better, than to push for obtaining his dismissal, without a trial, which might enable him to clear himself from all aspersions, and justify his conduct in the face of Day, to the confusion of his enemies.

After this detail of facts, compared with the several resolves of Congress, and the proceedings thereon, with the relation I am about to give of the particular behaviour of the Director, in consequence of them; let every impartial man lay his hand upon his heart, and ask himself, ingenuously, what he thinks of the whole matter, and of the several appearances, which concur, in an uniform series, to point to one object? Will they view the resolves of October 9th, and the manner of wording them, after all that had passed, as a mere accidental mode of expression, in men so wise, so much accustomed

to weigh, and so well acquainted with the import of words and the force of language, and as only intended to re-iterate, and renew former appointments, without any design in those who framed the resolve, I will not say, to throw dust in the eyes of the Members of Congress, in general, but to draw them into a measure, of which they might not consider its tendency, not only of effecting an alteration in one department, but of making such an entire innovation upon another, as was not generally thought of, and would lead to the great changes that have since taken place?

Can it be said, that neither the Secretary, who, though no Member of Congress, has an interest with many of them, without doors, nor any of the Members themselves, were apprized of the difficulties that would, unavoidably, arise from a resolve of Congress, calculated to throw down the former settled distinctions, of July 17th, 1775, and 1776, and August 20th last; in which my rank was so clearly recognized and established. One part of my errand to Philadelphia, last June, was to confer with the Committee of Congress, on the necessary establishments for keeping up a clear and regular subordination in the General Hospital, through all its various departments, and this was the subject of several letters, to different Members. If any of the Members of Congress had discovered, in me, any want of abilities for so important a post, is it not reasonable to imagine they would have openly, and avowedly, assigned it as a cause of disqualification? But did they ever do it? Nay; what says the Secretary himself, in his letter, of August 14th, by way of making some acknowledgment for the mistake he had committed in his former, of August 2d. It is the testimony, not of a friend, but an enemy, and one whom I believe to be a deep agent in my removal. I will therefore quote his very words; for "*jas qz ab hoste doceri.*"

"There is no man, Sir, acquainted with you, who can doubt of your abilities. All the world bears witness of them, and the learned in Europe, who must be allowed to be the best judges, have given ample testimony, by the honours they have heaped upon you. While you exercise your great talents, for the benefit of those entrusted to your care, your Country will honour you, and posterity will do you justice; even though Dr. S----, when you chance to meet, should refuse to give you precedence."

I proceed to the relation of what happened, in consequence of those resolves of Congress, of October 9th, and the strange behaviour of Dr. Shippen, the western Director, thereupon.

Being at Hackinsack, soon after this "*new arrangement*," as he was pleased to stile it, took place, I employed myself, with all possible industry, to put the hospital affairs in such a train, at Hackinsack,

sack, that Dr. Warren might conduct them, without my presence afterwards, that I might, without hindrance, be able to proceed to the White-Plains, to which place General Washington, and the army under him, had marched, a day or two before; and the British troops were taking the same route. I called, therefore, on General Green, at his camp, near Fort Lee, to represent to him the situation of the sick at Hackensack, and to request his orders for procuring Dr. Warren such assistance, from the Quarter-Master General's, and the Commissariat departments, as he required. I met the western Director there, who, with a peculiar freedom, becoming the elevation to which he seemed to consider himself as already raised, or to be raised, demanded why I was not at my post, on the other side the river? Accustomed to receive accounts from others, and to give orders myself, in the affairs of my department, I could not but feel the indignity of being thus taken to task by him; and answered him accordingly. I discovered his desires and aims, but concluded he had more LEE-WAY yet to make up, than to entitle him to avow his sentiments so openly; but in this, it seems, I was mistaken.

The day following Dr. Foster, to whose charge I had left the direction of the hospital, and care of the hospital stores, at Newark, came over in haste, and desired a private conversation with me, on a subject of some delicacy. As I had visited Newark within a very few days, and every thing was reported to me to be in good order, and I had left all the directions I thought necessary for future regulations, previous to my return to Head-Quarters, I could not conceive the occasion of his unexpected visit. But my foreboding mind took the alarm, of which I was yet ignorant of the cause; for he informed me, it was of such a nature, as made him think it improper to communicate by letter.

After this preparation, he informed me, that the Director had called on him, and proposed, but with great art and address, the surrendering up of the hospitals and stores to his Direction; the care of the sick to remain under the same persons whom I had sent from my department, but to act under his authority. He replied, that he considered himself as under my direction only, in hospital matters; and that he did not think himself at liberty to deliver up the stores to any person, without a written order from General Washington, or the Director-General. To this the Director made answer, that whatever like or dislike I might shew to this proposal, I should find myself obliged to acquiesce in it.

The construction which Dr. Foster put upon this proceeding, was, that the appointment of the Director, being to form and superintend the hospital of the flying camp, would terminate in a little time, as the troops composing the army, raised for that service, were
enlisted

enlisted but for a few months, unless he could carve out some place that he could be pleased with, in the mean while, that would put him on a better establishment. I commended his prudence, in declining to deliver up the stores without proper orders, and desired, that if any further demands, of the like kind, were made by Dr. Shippen, to refer him to me for an answer.

The Director had expressed himself to me, about a month before, in a manner that exactly corresponded with the above idea. He told me frankly, that he should like well enough to continue in the service, as he thought it a more gentlemanly life, than that of a drudging private practitioner. I was truly desirous of his continuance in that station, if he could remain in it, without elbowing me out of any thing that appertained to my place; for I did not then imagine he had yet aspired to the place itself.

Having served in the army, the whole of last war, and had pretensions, on that account, to some years experience in military hospitals, which he knew nothing of; and having been appointed to the chief direction of the hospitals, the preceding year, and having borne the burden of the day, ever since, it had not yet entered into my imagination, that I was so soon to give place to the very man, who, but four months before, not four months, nay, scarcely three, had written to announce his appointment, as Director of the hospital of the flying camp, and that he had enlisted himself in the service of the American States, confessed his being a mere novice in the management of his (subordinate) department, and applied to me for instructions in the *etiquette*, the word by which he chose to express his notion of the government of a General Hospital; and who promised, from time to time, to report to me the state of the hospitals under him, agreeable to an order of Congress for the purpose; but which, however, he never did. Perhaps he judged, from better information than I could ever obtain, that so soon as he had learned the "*etiquette*" of military hospitals, his elevation would render it unnecessary.

But what surprized me, in his late conduct, was, that having an opportunity to acquaint me, the day before, in person, at General Green's, with his expectations and demands on the hospitals I had established, he did not chuse to say any thing to myself on the subject, but to apply to subordinate officers, to accomplish his wishes, rather than treat with me as a principal; I thought this portended no good; but then I knew it was of a piece with very many other instances of his conduct, on different occasions.

I went over, in a day or two after, to the White-Plains. A letter soon arrived from the Director to General Washington, complain-
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ing that his situation was uneasy, for he could not obtain the command of the stores at Newark, and of course of the hospitals I had established there, and of the officers I had detached from my particular department, unless by the General's orders for the purpose, or by directions from me; for which, however, as I observed before, he had never applied.

The General was pleased to communicate this letter to me. I represented to him the inconveniences of depriving me of those stores, and that I had no others, in any sufficient quantity, to answer the continual calls upon me; that the rest of the stores, which, at his command, were ordered to Stamford, (and from thence were removed by the Stamford Committee, without my knowledge, but with his approbation, as I afterwards learned) could be of no use to me at that time; that the only medicines, which could be got at, were those at Newark, which I had snatched, as a brand out of the fire, at the retreat from New-York; and that I had appointed an Apothecary on purpose to assort and dispense them out to Regimental Surgeons at Newark, as there was no possibility of doing it in an army, constantly moving from place to place, under all the inconveniences we suffered. To be borne down, with incessant demands from all quarters, was hard indeed; and to be deprived of the only resources I had left me, those of my own providing, and of my own saving, with extreme difficulty and hazard, to be at the sole command of another, a junior and inferior officer, appeared to me to be an unreasonable demand. I had already detached near one half of the Surgeons and Mates of the General Hospital to Newark and Hackinsack, and by the General's command, established hospitals there, at the very time I had pointed out the probable consequences that would ensue from the extraordinary resolves of Congress, October 9th. There were, at this time, above fifteen hundred sick, at those two places, under the care of my own Surgeons. I had just received letters from them, which shewed they were gradually working through all their former difficulties, by steadily pursuing the directions I had left them: With these advantages, and their own experience, they were more likely to complete the work, than they would be, if in the midst of it they were to receive new directions from one, who, with all due deference to his abilities, was less acquainted, than themselves, with the arrangements of a General Hospital. I observed, that to deliver up the hospitals, stores and officers, would be to strip me of all power of being useful; and it was not in the power of the Director to supply their places, if the stores, hospitals and sick were to be committed to his care, and my proper officers were to return under my command, on the East side of the river; whence the sick must suffer; and if the stores were delivered up, we ourselves must become destitute and helpless, and yet exposed to greater clamours than ever. I had, in no instance, interfered with the Director of the flying camp, but offered to give him every assistance in my power, that he was pleased to call for. But to be stripped of the rank of Director-General, and the power of my station, and to be left but the shadow of a Director, and yet to be

accountable for every accident, or misconduct of others, as well as of my own department, and, from the highest post, to be rendered the mere dependent of a junior and subordinate officer, was what I never would submit to. Sooner than be subject to such controul, or give up the stores and hospitals, which by the General's orders I had established for the sick of his own army, when I had no convenience for providing others, I would give up my commission.

The General promised he would, and I doubt not but he did, write to the Director, in answer to his letter, "That the hospitals I had established, and the surgeons and stores I had sent to Newark and Hackinsack, were to remain under my direction."

What was my surprize to hear, after some time, from some of the officers of the hospital, that were under me, in the Jerseys, [for it seemed proper that I should never know, but in a circuitous manner, what most immediately regarded myself] that those stores which had been provided for General Washington's army, and which I had saved at New-York, and sent to the Jerseys for safety, and for the convenience of issuing out to the hospital sick under my own care, and to the Regimental Surgeons, were now actually ordered, by a late vote of Congress, to be delivered up to the Director of the flying camp; and that he received letters, at this very time, from some of the Members of Congress, addressed to him by the title of William Shippen, Esq; Director-General of the Hospitals, &c. of which I took notice before. Whether this too could be mere accident, or an unintentional, unmeaning compliment, time will soon, I believe, reveal.*

My clerk, after this, but some considerable time before my dismissal, produced the following order in Dr. Shippen's hand-writing, formally demanding, as if I was already displaced, the surrender of my stores: "Dr. SHIPPEN's compliments to Mr. De la Mater, and desires he will send him an *exact list* of all the stores and medicines, &c. which *did belong* to Dr. MORGAN, and are at Bethlehem, and which the General and Congress have now directed me to take charge of, *as soon as possible*."† What is more, Dr. Foster told me that above a month before, Mr. John

Adams

* Doctor Shippen, since writing the above, is appointed to my place of Director-General and Physician in Chief.

† Dr. Shippen would do well to acquaint the world, how he obtained those orders, and contrived to get the direction of all the department, West of Hudson's-River, transferred from me to Him; and vice versa, the clamours arising from the sufferings of the sick, in consequence of those manoeuvres, shifted from HIM to ME; and how, as they took place in his department, he eluded a court of inquiry upon his conduct, and wherefore it was, that with all my sollicitation to obtain an inquiry into mine, I could not succeed, as it would expose some political proceedings to public view, which it concerned himself and friends to keep out of sight? By what arts, for the sake of screening him, was my character basely aspersed, and the Congress imposed upon, and thereby induced to degrade me without any accusation, and without an hearing; and to honour Him, the apparent author of those public calamities, by promoting him to my station?

Adams made it his business to call upon him, to advise, or order him to deliver up the stores to Dr. Shippen; but in all this transaction, I never had one line from any of them, to that purpose; on

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Who was the contriver and framer of the Resolve of Congress, October the 9th, to pave the way for that event, so inconsistent with our original, respective appointments, and irreconcilable with every idea of order, discipline or usage in war? Why, truly! he had friends and connexions in Congress, to shelter him from the storm, under the wings of their influence, and I was made a sacrifice to screen him, and to hide from the public the inadequate provision that had been made for taking proper care of the sick in the army; nor are the mean and deceitful plans he pursued of practising upon the weakness of some of the officers I employed, to corrupt their fidelity to, and alienate them from me, as well as to attach them to Himself, from motives of interest, wholly concealed.

Thus Mr. John Brown Cutting, a person moulded by nature to subserve his purposes, whom, from apothecary's mate, I promoted to be an assistant apothecary, and doubled his original pay, to issue out medicines, on my orders, to the regimental surgeons at Newark, having, at the enemy's approach, left all the stores and medicines, in his fright, to such mates, as had courage to accompany and take charge of them, fled to Bethlehem, the place of Dr. Shippen's retreat. There this gentleman, with his Subs, had an opportunity of making such impressions on him, as they pleased, when he saw the clouds collecting over me, and could learn who was THEIR EXPECTANT to my place. He then came to Philadelphia, where I employed him to pack up, and send the chief of my medicines to Bethlehem; on which, without any orders from me, he officiously wrote word to Dr. Shippen, "that HE, CUTTING, had sent Him a fine stock of medicines and hospital stores." Thus, but not for once only, was I treacherously dealt with by the ingrate whom I had fostered. He then applied for his dismissal, on pretence of being seized with a fit of military ardor, and wanting to go to Boston, although I knew his sort to lay in foreseeing evil, and hiding himself from it. I readily discharged him. Instead, however, of going to Boston, his pretended one, he soon repaired to Bethlehem, where he had no business, in order that he might pursue his real scheme, in concert with Dr. Shippen, by whose interest, since his own elevation, he has been promoted to the place he now enjoys, after he had, like the unjust Stewart in the parable, made himself a friend of the mammon of unrighteousness, that so he

"Like Meteor, raised in a tempestuous sky,

"A while might glitter, then obscurely die."

Others of the mates followed Mr. Cutting's example, being entertained at tavern, and some were made to believe that Dr. Shippen would shortly give lectures to those of his department, as if his place was a Sine-cure, and he left at liberty to pursue schemes of private advantage, instead of minding the duties of his station, and myself being considered as letting, whilst he was represented as a Rising SUN, or polar Star, by which they could steer to preferment. Is it to be wondered at, that some then, who had an esteem for me, but a greater regard to their own obvious advantages,

the contrary, Mr. Gerry gave it as his opinion, in the letter I wrote to me, that the stores and officers were to remain under my own direction only.

When I found it necessary, for the good of the service, to deliver up a part of my medicinal and hospital stores, to one of Dr. Shippen's surgeons, he refused, till repeatedly required, to give any other receipt for the delivery of those stores, so insolently demanded, than one which carried insult in the stile of it; and the demeanor of most of his officers at Bethlehem, when I was there, was that of men who knew my dismissal to be pre-determined, and looked upon themselves therefore as authorised, by the example of their superior, and justified for dispensing with every call of good breeding, if ever they had any. *Quid faciant Domini, audent cum talia Fures?*

Whilst I was fixed, by the General's order, at the lines near the
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should shun the rock on which I was likely to be wrecked, and repair for shelter to the secure harbour of his good graces, rightly judging, if I could not preserve my own station, and he had influence to supersede me, their situation would be very precarious, unless they came to anchor in time? After several of them, from these considerations, had left me, he had still the modesty to propose to me his detaining of the few that remained, and whom I had lent him, one, who was very useful to me, and who had been committed to my charge with the strongest injunctions, and promise, of making him one of my family, giving this excellent reason, forsooth, for the proposal, that his father was the common friend of both.

The following extract of a letter, which I received from one of them, who, though assailed by the same temptations with some others, had virtue to resist them, may serve to shew the state I was in:

S I R,

ON my arrival here, I was told Dr. Morgan was out; after this, another report prevailed, that it was not a total dismissal, but left in the breast of the General to dismiss or continue you, as he should think fit.

It is with much concern I am obliged to add, that your influence is daily diminishing here, ON ACCOUNT OF THE BEFORE-MENTIONED REPORTS.

I have observed with much pain, that strict honesty, which to persons best acquainted with you, has marked your character, in all the duties of your military department, has not produced that good effect to yourself, that a little policy, and much less honesty in others, has to them, and that policy, as well as honesty, is necessary in an officer of distinction, to silence that calumniating, plodding disposition of your adversaries.

Excuse my well intended freedom, to which I have been induced from no other motive, than zeal for the cause, and personal esteem and regard for yourself, and lest one of much inferior abilities should fill your important station, as I judge you would not chuse to relinquish your present important post, till you have had an opportunity of vindicating your character, (so grossly and causelessly traduced.)

If these hints should be of any use to you, it will be an infinite pleasure and satisfaction to, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

A. B.

To John Morgan, Esq; Director-General.

White Plains, Fort Washington, Fort Lee, Hackinsack, Newark and Brunswick fell into the hands of General Howe. In the mean time I procured from Boston, to which place I had sent express, as well as to Newport, Rhode-Island, Providence and Norwich, and from Hartford, in Connecticut, by the assistance of Governor Trumbull, a fresh supply of medicines and hospital stores. I appointed hospitals at Stamford and Norwalk, and Surgeons from the General Hospital to receive and take care of the sick and wounded. I went in person to both places: Near two thousand men were received into them: Not a single one was refused: They were well taken care of: The greater part of them recovered: All clamours and complaints on that side ceased; they were only heard in the Western department, where the sick spread through the Jerseys, Pennsylvania and Maryland, in a tract of 200 miles, amounting to near one half of the army: These fell under the care of the Director of the flying camp; but he was unequal to the task, and retired to Bethlehem, with a small handful of sick; and the deficiencies of his department, over which I had no controul, were ascribed to me. As if, unassisted by any deputy, or proper aids, I was in my own person to go through all the drudgery alone. Had I the eyes of an Argus, their vigilance would have been insufficient, or had I the hundred hands of a Briareus, I could not, of myself, have performed all the labour that was required, to be accountable for the defects of others, burdened with so great a charge, whilst all proper subordination was wholly disregarded.

Being anxious, however, to give what assistance I was able to General Washington, and the troops which had crossed over to the Jerseys, I followed them, so soon as I had taken the proper steps for providing hospitals at North-Castle, and Peek's-Kill, for the troops left in those places, and hastened to join General Washington. I crossed the Delaware, and reached Head-Quarters, just as the enemy came in sight, at Trenton. I waited on his Excellency, and thus, with the respect due to the Commander in Chief, but with firmness, addressed him: "Sir, I know not in what light you will think proper to view my hastening to what I esteem my duty, an attendance upon you, without waiting for your commands. Your Excellency will permit me to acquaint you, that from the nature of my commission, I am appointed to direct the hospitals for the army under your command (I have a letter from the Secretary of the Congress, with these words: "The department at Head-Quarters is under your immediate direction.") To be restricted then to the east side of the river, is contrary to my original appointment, on which I accepted a commission, and unless I am restored to my rank and place, wherever you command in person, I must give up my charge. I cannot consent to this degradation from my rank and authority. If this is the return I am to expect for my toils, fatigue and services, to be obliged to make way for a new officer, whose interest and rising favour, like Aaron's rod, are to swallow up every consideration, it is time for me to leave the army. And to these difficulties am I reduced in consequence of the resolve of October 9th, without I receive

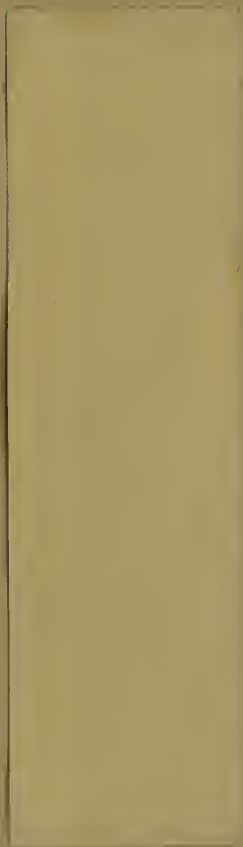
I immediately sent it to the General, with a desire of its being laid before Congress, for their reconsideration of what was done, as I thought, with precipitancy, and did not doubt that, on better information, they would quickly retract from the measure, or, at least, give me an audience, and judge on the evidence of facts, compared with their own resolves and the General's orders.

At any rate, if they were determined to deliver me up to the cries of a faction, I thought Congress, for its own sake, would have let me down gently. If the sacrifice must be made to gratify it, I thought Congress would suppose that something was due to the character I had sustained in life, to the rank I had held in my profession, to the general reputation which public honours from the learned societies in Europe are supposed to confer. Upon occasion of such unworthy treatment as I have met with, I flatter myself, a man may be allowed to speak the truth, in his own favour, without an impeachment of vanity. I thought that some consideration would have been had for that devotion of my best abilities, which I had shewn, such as they are, to the improvement of liberal arts and sciences in this new world; that some regard would have been manifested to an early and zealous attachment to the cause of American liberty; to the sacrifice I had made of my private interest and safety; to my own station, and that of some of my nearest relations and friends, both in and out of Congress, and of the army. And could not all these procure some shadow of lenity, where a victim was to be offered up; something like compassion; some answer to my humble memorial, in my vindication, and my petition only "*to be heard*"? I must say none. Three months are elapsed, whilst I have not received one line or message in answer. In the mean while, as if that refusal was the signal, the alarm spread; news-papers bore witness to my degradation; whilst base and malicious men, the pests of every society, have given free vent to their slanders. Boston has been filled with clamours to my prejudice. Villains there are in every place, to coin and circulate reports prejudicial to a man's character. But why should I pretend to enumerate the evil consequences of such a severity of conduct towards me? If it would have answered any valuable purpose; if the sacrifice of my life would have saved my Country, I could have cheerfully offered it up. I shall not say so of my honour.

To the impartial public, I therefore mean to appeal. At this tribunal, no innocent person need fear to make his defence, nor to allow free scope to be given to that defence; where a man's conduct, and the motives of it being known, he has reason to hope for a candid judgment, free from prejudice or party. If I can but obtain this indulgence, I hope to evince, to every common understanding, the rectitude of my conduct, and if the most laborious and steady application to the discharge of my trust and perseverance in the path of duty, can give a claim to hope, I flatter myself, that I shall not only escape their censure, but meet with the warmest approbation of the public, which it ever has been, and whatever may be the success, ever shall be my study to obtain. I am, my dear friend,

Theirs, and your most devoted, humble servant,

JOHN MORGAN.



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